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SHAKESPEARE'S PASTORALS

To many critics it has seemed that the pastoral element in Shakespeare's plays has small significance because he nowhere introduces, with seriousness, the conventions of the *genre*. Pastoral drama in England is represented, according to this view, by the *Arraignment of Paris* or *The Faithful Shepherdess*, but not by *As You Like It* or *The Winter's Tale*.¹ Such an exclusion, however, is surely illogical. To say that because Autolycus is unlike Corin and Daphnis, therefore *The Winter's Tale* has little or no relation to pastoral literature is no more reasonable than to say that because in the Henry V trilogy we are more interested in Falstaff or Fluellen or Justice Shallow than in the strictly historical material, therefore these plays do not belong to the chronicle history group. Shakespeare extended and enlarged the scope of comedy, history, and tragedy, yet the classification of the First Folio is convenient and not inaccurate. In *As You Like It*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale* he dealt with material drawn from pastoral romance in such a way as to deepen and enrich certain characteristics of this *genre*; he did not write pastorals of the conventional Renaissance type, yet the pastoral element in his plays is both considerable and important.

In the present study I shall discuss two topics: first, the relation of Shakespeare's pastorals to a well-defined type of plot-structure which, originating in *Daphnis and Chloe* and modified by certain Italian and Spanish elements, found its first complete English expression in Sidney's *Arcadia*, and, second, Shakespeare's development from a criticism of the absurdities of pastoralism coupled with a somewhat conventional use of the country vs. town motif to a much deeper interpretation of one of the most interesting phases of Renaissance thought.

¹ As examples of many expressions of such views compare Smith, "Pastoral Influence on the English Drama," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1897, pp. 378-381: "In *The Winter's Tale* the pastoral element borrowed from Greene's *Pandosto* is so completely subordinated that we can hardly say it exists at all. Who would speak of Perdita as an Arcadian?" He makes a similar remark concerning *As You Like It*. Schelling (*English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, p. 386) says that *As You Like It* is no true pastoral, since the genius of its author "could not be bound within the conventions of a form of literature so exotic and conventional"; and of *The Winter's Tale* (pp. 389-390) he says that the outdoor scenes "are pastoral only in the sense that they deal with shepherds and their life." Greg (*Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 411) says: "It is characteristic of the shepherd scenes of that play (*sc. Winter's Tale*), written in the full maturity of Shakespeare's genius, that, in spite of their origin . . . they owe nothing of their treatment to pastoral tradition, nothing to convention, nothing to aught save life as it mirrored itself in the magic glass of the poet's inspiration;" and his comment (pp. 412-413) on *As You Like It* mainly consists of generalizations about the beauty of "the faint perfume of the polished Utopia of the courtly makers."

I. THE INFLUENCE OF SIDNEY AND SPENSER

Daphnis and Chloe supplied the chief elements in the plot of a type of pastoral which was used, with some modifications, by Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare. The romance is too well-known to need detailed exposition; the main points may be summarized as follows:

Two foundlings are brought up by rustics whom they regard as their parents; their childhood is described in detail, and the manner in which they became lovers; the purity and sweetness of this love idyl are emphasized; character contrast is supplied by means of a rude lover, the rival of the hero, who is also a coward; disguised as a wolf, he attacks the girl, who is rescued by the hero. Later, wicked men attempt without success to kidnap the boy, the rival being slain in the encounter, and the incident is repeated in the captivity of the heroine by outlaws. At length the lovers are reunited; wealthy parents come and recognize them, and they are happily married.

This is the story, in brief, of the only true Greek pastoral which influenced English literature; other Greek romancers, such as Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, stressed the wanderings of the lovers and introduced various other elements which are without significance in the present study. The Italian and Spanish pastoral romances, such as the *Ameto*, the *Arcadia*, and the *Diana*, have little relation to this plot; they introduce various love idyls and go back to the Virgilian eclogues. But with them the element of allegory is introduced; there is the further important influence of style, particularly the interweaving of prose and verse; and in the introduction of the author, often as a disappointed lover who is living for the time among shepherds, a noteworthy addition to the *dramatis personae* was made.

From these various sources, all well known in the England of Sidney's time, a composite plot was formed, the essentials of which are as follows:

1. A child of unknown parentage, usually a girl, is brought up by shepherds. As a variant, the heroine may merely be living in seclusion among shepherds.
2. A lover is introduced, who may be a foundling, or, more commonly, a man of high birth who falls in love with the heroine and for her sake adopts the dress and the life of a shepherd or a forester.
3. This love story is complicated by the rivalry of a blundering shepherd, usually characterized as a coward, his function being to supply comedy and to serve as a foil for the hero.
4. Melodramatic elements are supplied by the attack of a lion or a bear, and this affords the hero another opportunity to prove his prowess.
5. A captivity episode is usually introduced; the heroine is stolen by pirates or outlaws; the hero goes to her rescue.
6. At length it develops that the girl is of high birth, and she marries the hero.

7. From Italian and Spanish sources comes an extra character, not vitally connected with the plot, often the author of the romance; usually this man is afflicted with melancholy and is living among shepherds because of his woes.

Sidney's *Arcadia* is often referred to as a pastoral; in reality it is a heroic "poem," according to the standards of Sidney and his circle, in which a pastoral episode is introduced. The action opens, in the midst of the story, with this pastoral, but that the pastoral is not the chief element in the story is evidenced not only by the space given in books I and II to the epic history of Pyrocles and Musidorus but by the fact that throughout book III, the most important of the entire work, the pastoral completely disappears.² The plot³ of this pastoral portion of *Arcadia* follows closely the type outlined above:

1. A king, or, in the first version, a duke, lives with his daughters in pastoral seclusion.

2. Two princes come to the place; in order to get access to the maidens one disguises himself as a shepherd, the other as an Amazon.

3. A blundering shepherd, guardian of one of the girls, supplies comic interest; his cowardice is especially dwelt on.

4. Melodramatic incidents are supplied by the advent of a lion and a bear; the heroes save the maidens.

5. Two illustrations of the captivity motif are given: there is an incursion of the rabble by which the lives of the heroines are greatly endangered; the attempt, however, is foiled by the heroes. Later, by a ruse, the girls are abducted and are kept in captivity for a long time; the Amazon is also captured, but the shepherd goes to the aid of his lady. Here the pastoral disappears and a long series of chivalric adventures takes its place.

6. At length the heroines are released and marriages follow.

7. A melancholy shepherd named Philisides (Sidney), who has no part in the main action, is living in this pastoral seclusion because of an unhappy love affair (Stella).

The variations in this plot are not significant. There is a quartet of lovers, and the complications are, of course, increased thereby. The boorish shepherd is the guardian, not a suitor. The founding motif is absent; the heroines are ladies of high rank. But the disguise of the lover as a shepherd; the character contrast supplied by Dame-tas; the incidents of the wild beasts, the rabble, and the captivity; the melancholy shepherd who is not connected directly with the action,—

² Except for the fact that the Captivity motif is pastoral; this motif is used, however, merely at the introduction. I have discussed the construction of this romance at some length in "Sidney's *Arcadia* as an Example of Elizabethan Allegory," in *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, pp. 327-337.

³ The numbers used in my analysis correspond to the incidents in the typical plot.

all these are based directly upon the special type of pastoral plot outlined above.⁴

We have now to consider two important but apparently overlooked illustrations of the influence of this part of the *Arcadia*. The first is the Pastorella-Calidore episode in *Faerie Queene* VI; the second is supplied by *As You Like It*. The Pastorella-Calidore story is important not only because it is closely parallel to some of Shakespeare's pastorals in plot and in its interpretation of pastoralism, but also because there are indications that it had direct influence on Shakespeare. In view of its importance, I give the plot of this episode in some detail; the numbers prefixed to the sections indicate the relations existing between Spenser and the typical plot already outlined, but I have not altered the sequence of events.⁵

1. Calidore, in pursuit of the Blatant Beast, comes upon a group of shepherds. Among them is a damsel wearing a crown of flowers and clad in home-made greens that her own hand had dyed; she sits on a hillock, and all around are country lads and lasses. Calidore is fascinated by her beauty, and in the evening gladly goes home with her and the old shepherd who is reputed to be her father. Spenser here explains that this shepherd is not really her father, but had found her in open fields, "as old stories tell."

2. After supper, Calidore and the old shepherd discourse on the charms of pastoral life; love for the fair Pastorella so inflames the knight that he seeks permission to remain. Thus Calidore, forgetting his quest, becomes a shepherd, and passes a long time in this idyllic existence.

3. Pastorella has many lovers, chief among them Coridon, who is in every way unworthy of her. The rivalry between Calidore and this shepherd is stressed, especially in such a way as to bring out the superiority of Calidore in courtesy and prowess.

4. On one occasion a tiger attacks Pastorella. Coridon acts the part of a coward, but Calidore slays the beast with his sheep-hook. By this means he wins the love of the maiden.

5. After a long period of happiness, brigands capture Pastorella and Coridon in Calidore's absence. The captain of the thieves loves the shepherdess but she foils him. In the meantime Calidore is searching far and wide. In an attack upon

⁴ The long story of the Captivity is very similar to the last book of *Amadis*. In that romance Oriana is captured by Amadis and is taken to his castle, with other ladies. Her father raises a great force and lays siege to the castle. In both *Arcadia* and *Amadis* this mustering of forces by the leaders on both sides is stressed and is too characteristic to escape notice; the high chivalry with which the preparations for the battle, and the battle itself, are conducted, contributes to the similarity in atmosphere, while the central situation, a lady held in captivity by her lover while her father attempts her rescue, is precisely the same. In Sidney's romance, Amphilus, son of the wicked Cecropia, is himself a man very similar to Amadis; his love for Philoclea is not returned, but though Oriana stays voluntarily and Philoclea is detained against her will, the debt of Sidney to the most famous chivalric romance of his time is unquestionable. The Captivity in *Amadis*, like the corresponding portion of *Arcadia*, is the culmination of the romance; but in *Amadis* it is chivalric throughout, while in *Arcadia* it develops from the pastoral, and the lover who had been disguised as a shepherd joins the father in the attempt at rescue.

⁵ The passage in the *Faerie Queene* begins with the ninth canto.

the brigands by some merchants who have come to buy slaves, Coridon escapes, the old shepherd is killed, and Pastorella is left for dead. Coridon finds Calidore, but is afraid to go back to the place where, he says, Pastorella was slain. He is forced to do so, however, and to the great joy of the knight he finds his lady and rescues her from the thieves.

6. Calidore restores the flocks to Coridon and takes Pastorella to the castle of Belgard where he leaves her with Sir Bellamore and his lady while he takes up once more his quest of the Beast. It soon appears that Pastorella is the long lost daughter of Bellamore and Claribell. The story is left incomplete by Spenser, since the remainder of the book, the last part of the *Faerie Queene* completed by Spenser, is taken up with the account of Calidore's quest; there is no doubt whatever that Spenser intended later to have Calidore return and claim Pastorella as his bride.

7. A shepherd named Colin (Spenser) has no part in the main action; Pastorella is fond of his music, and on one occasion Calidore comes upon him piping merrily to a bevy of maidens, who however disappear on the approach of a mortal.

That this plot corresponds very closely to the type is instantly apparent. There are variations, of course, but they do not affect the conclusion that *Daphnis and Chloe*, *Arcadia*, and the story of Pastorella are closely related. In the Greek pastoral both hero and heroine are ignorant of their parentage, while in *Arcadia* a king adopts pastoral life in order to keep his daughters from marrying, so that although the hero becomes a shepherd it is in order to deceive the father, not the girl; in the *Faerie Queene* the girl is a foundling but the lover is a knight like Musidorus. These variants are due to the fact that in both *Arcadia* and *Faerie Queene* the pastoral is an episode in a chivalric romance. Again, Spenser's version of the captivity, while similar in many respects to that of Longus, apparently owes something to the story of Isabella in Ariosto,⁶ and differs decidedly from the chivalric story of the third book of Sidney's romance, in which the pastoral is dropped. But the three pastorals have exactly the same incidents and the same situations, told in the same order: the story of love between a hero and a heroine who though of high station are living as shepherds; the clown who serves as foil and rival; the rescue of the girl from a wild beast; the captivity; the final recognition. Spenser and Sidney further agree in the important detail of the extra shepherd, taken from Italian and Spanish romances which do not follow the plot structure here considered.

⁶ Warton, *Observations*, p. 155, conjectures that the story of Pastorella's captivity is from Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, canto xii and following. Isabella's story, however, is not a pastoral, and is wholly different from that of Spenser's heroine, save in the detail that both are held captive by robbers and are freed by a knight. Orlando, who rescues Isabel, is not her lover. Even if Spenser had in mind Isabella's story, therefore, this is not the source of the Pastorella story as a whole.

Two suggestions as to possible sources of the Pastorella-Calidore story have been made.⁷ The first of these dates from Upton, who thought that Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia* was Spenser's source,⁸ and this suggestion has been followed by others. This identification is untenable, however, since the two plots differ in almost every respect save that a prince becomes a shepherd to win the love of a maiden thought to be the daughter of an old shepherd. But the shepherd-garb of Dorastus is a mere ruse which does not deceive Fawnia;⁹ there is no stress on the shepherd life, since the story consists in the main of descriptions of the struggle between the love of Dorastus and his feeling that it was beneath him to love a shepherdess. The other stock elements of this plot, such as the attack by wild beasts and the captivity, are wanting; there is no extra shepherd, and the elopement is a radical departure from the type. Such apparent resemblances as the discussion between the lovers as to the relative advantages of shepherd and city life are merely fortuitous. The second possible source, which has also been frequently cited, is the story of Erminia in Tasso.¹⁰

Escaping in the armor of Clorinda, Erminia is pursued by enemies and at length comes upon a shepherd and his three sons. They are terrified at the appearance of the warrior, but she soon reassures them, and marvels at their peaceful employments so near the dreadful conflicts of the war. The old shepherd tells her that they are safe because they are inoffensive and possess nothing that tempts the cupidity of others; he knows all about the great world, for much of his life was spent as a gardener in the city; he is glad to be back in a place where life is sound and sweet. Erminia is so impressed by this praise of country life that she remains with the shepherds. The story leaves her and returns to the scenes of battle; after a long time we learn that she ran away from the shepherds, desiring to seek her lover, but she was captured by outlaws and was given as a present to their captain, who took pity on her and set her free. She comes upon Tancred apparently dead, but her tears revive him and she cures him.

In one important detail, Spenser is beyond question indebted to this story. Old Melibee tells Calidore that he had spent most of his life in the city as a gardener, and he makes this experience the basis for his comparison between country and town. Calidore is impressed, as Erminia had been, by this testimony, and desires to live among the

⁷ I give space to a consideration of these suggested sources because both *Pandosto* and the story of Erminia in Tasso have important relations to Shakespeare's pastorals, as will appear later.

⁸ *Spenser* ed. Todd, VII, 69 n. But Upton immediately suggests a parallel with *Daphnis and Chloe*. Greg (*Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 100-101) says that *Dorastus and Fawnia* "has points of resemblance" to Spenser's story, and he also refers to Ariosto and Tasso as possible sources.

⁹ He changes his rich dress for shepherd's weeds each day when he pays his visit to his lady, returning to the grove which he used as a dressing room at the end of the call.

¹⁰ *Jerusalem Liberata* VII and XIX. Jusserand (*Literary History of the English People*, II, 503 and note) cites this passage as the source of the Pastorella story, and others have also noticed a resemblance.

shepherds. But the Erminia story has only two elements of the typical plot: the sojourn among shepherds, and the captivity. Even these vary widely from type, for she is not with her lover, and thus the most important of all the incidents, the fundamental situation itself, is wanting. Such details as the attack by wild beasts, the rival shepherd, the melancholy shepherd, and the pastoral group that gives atmosphere to such a story are all lacking in Tasso. Erminia decorates trees with love complaints, like Orlando, and she soon runs away, going to meet captivity instead of waiting for captivity to come to her according to the rules of the pastoral game. For all these reasons the Erminia story, like the story of Fawnia, is not Spenser's main source. One detail he got from it, just as he was probably influenced by the story of Isabel in the incident of the captivity, but the true source of the Pastorella-Calidore episode is Sidney's *Arcadia*.

This conclusion finds additional support in the fact that Sidney's influence on the *Faerie Queene* was much greater than has been supposed. That Spenser intended Calidore to represent Sidney has long been recognized.¹¹ Moreover, Sidney was early regarded as the one who inspired Spenser to write his great epic. For example, the prefatory lines by "W. L." point out that the theme of the *Faerie Queene* seemed too great, therefore

To seeme a shepheard then he made his choice;
But Sidney heard his song, and knew his voice. . . .
What though his taske exceed a humaine witt,
He is excus'd, sith Sidney thought it fitt.

And Spenser himself, in his sonnet to Sidney's sister, speaks of
That most heroicke spirit. . . .

Who first my Muse did lift out of the floor.

That all this is not mere idle compliment is proved by the fact that the structure of the *Faerie Queene*, its combination of *Ethice* and *Politice*,¹² and the conception of the function and nature of poetry illustrated by it conform at once to the theory set forth in Sidney's *Defense* and the practical application of that theory in *Arcadia*. More specific points of evidence are not wanting. That Spenser was familiar with Sidney's introduction of himself as Philisides is indicated by the lines in *Astrophel*, which apparently refer to the "pastorals" at the end of the books in *Arcadia*:

¹¹ Upton thought that "the name *καλλιόδωρος* leads us to consider the many graceful and goodly endowments that heaven peculiarly gave him [*sic.* Sidney]" (*Spenser*, ed. Todd, VII, 169 n.). He might also have pointed out the resemblance between the Greek form of this name and the name Musidorus, the shepherd hero of *Arcadia*. The identification of Calidore with Sidney has been generally accepted by editors since Upton's time.

¹² Cf. Spenser's letter to Raleigh, and also Sidney's use of these terms in *Defense* ed. Cook, p. 12.

For he could pipe and dance and carol sweet
Amongst the shepherds in their shearing feast.

Again, there is a striking similarity between *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene* in the manner in which the pastoral element is introduced. In both cases we have a chivalric romance intended as a heroic poem. In this epic a pastoral is introduced which has more than mere plot interest. The model for both was probably the Dido-Aeneas passage in Virgil, not that Virgil tells it as a pastoral but that the three episodes show how the perfect hero forgets for a time his task in his subjection to love. In each case the hero is blamed for his dereliction, though the surpassing power of love is fully recognized. This combination of pastoral with heroic material in Sidney and Spenser is very different from the mixture of pastoral and chivalric in such romances as those by Greene and Lodge; in the one case it is organic, reflecting a conscious theory of poetry and of life; in the other it is fortuitous, introduced for variety and told in the manner of romance, not of epic. Finally, the influence of Sidney in the second part of the *Faerie Queene* (Books IV-VI) is constant and is of sufficient strength to bring about changes in Spenser's methods that are considerable. This influence is seen not merely in the Calidore-Pastorella story but throughout these three books. In part it is due to the great vogue of *Arcadia* following its first publication in 1590. That Spenser had seen the work in MS and that Sidneyan influence is to be found in books I-III is not unlikely, but with Book IV, which Spenser must have begun shortly after his visit to London, the indebtedness is beyond question.¹³

II. JAQUES

Since the plot of *As You Like It* is drawn from Lodge's *Rosalynde*, a discussion of its relations to the type outlined in the preceding section is of importance only in so far as Shakespeare departs from his source. Lodge owed much to Sidney, but his romance is wholly lack-

¹³ To give details here is impossible, since it would interrupt too much the theme of this study, but I expect to publish soon a paper upon the structure of the *Faerie Queene* in which this topic will be treated, among others. I should remark here, to prevent misapprehension, that a general similarity between the Pastorella-Calidore story and *Arcadia* was pointed out by Todd in 1805. In his edition of the works of Spenser, after quoting Warton's remark about Isabel and Pastorella, Todd continues: "This pastoral part of the *Faerie Queene* seems to have been occasioned by Sidney's *Arcadia* and in conformity to the common fashion of the time, which abounded in pastoral poetry." (VII, notes on pp. 116, 117). But it is clear both from the last part of this sentence and from the fact that he continues by giving references to pastoral poetry, that he was merely associating the two stories as pastorals, and did not have, or at least did not express, the idea that the passage in the *Faerie Queene* is directly modelled upon the pastoral portion of the *Arcadia*.

ing in those epic elements which characterize *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene*.¹⁴ More important than this, for our present purpose, is the fact that though Lodge uses a number of the incidents found in the type plot, two of the three omitted by him are supplied by Shakespeare, while the third, the captivity, is not needed for the dénouement either in Lodge or in Shakespeare. William and Audrey, true rustics as compared with the gentility in disguise or with the eclogue shepherdess and swain, are supplied by Shakespeare and furnish the comic relief which is the function of the blundering shepherd in Sidney and Spenser. And the extra shepherd, melancholy, having no part in the main action yet deeply significant as one of the pastoral *dramatis personae*, the Philisides of *Arcadia* and the Colin of the *Faerie Queene*, is omitted by Lodge but in Shakespeare is no less a personage than the melancholy Jaques.

Jaques is always said to be the creature of Shakespeare's imagination, having no "source." Like Hamlet he is a mystery variously interpreted, and next to Hamlet he is Shakespeare's most perplexing character. Some critics, for example Professor Herford, find in him a promise of a "deeper, more comprehensive pity, the stuff of which in the next years the great tragedies were to be wrought."¹⁵ Grant White and others have thought his "melancholy" to be "a sullen, scoffing, snarling spirit"; Hudson, on the other hand, thinks him "a philosopher with something of the fool in him," while Dowden sees a reincarnation of him in Laurence Sterne.¹⁶

A brief review of the points brought out in the previous section of this study will indicate *a priori* grounds for supposing that Jaques

¹⁴ While the plot is not closely parallel, many of the essentials are present: 1. A girl of high rank compelled to flee, lives among shepherds disguised as a swain; she is accompanied by a friend who becomes a shepherdess. There is the praise of country life by an old shepherd, as in Tasso and Spenser, and like Erminia, Rosalynde is disguised as a man and is oppressed by love. 2. The lover comes; there is a pretty variation from type in his fancied wooing of Ganymede for Rosalynde. Aliena (Celia) later has a love affair which is strictly typical. 3. This incident is wanting in Lodge. 4. A lion attacks, not the girl, but Saladyne (Oliver); he is more gentlemanly than the usual pastoral lion, since he waits throughout the long "meditation" of Rosader (Orlando). 5. Captivity is wanting, but in the attack on Aliena by the rabble, with her rescue by Saladyne, we have a pretty close imitation of *Arcadia* II, where this incident precedes the real captivity episode. 6. The recognition and marriage are present. 7. The extra shepherd is wanting. To this plot is added the Phoebe-Montanus complication. The entire setting reminds one of *Arcadia*, where there are also four lovers. Zelmane (Pyrocles) the amazon loves Philoclea, apparently of her own sex; so here the Rosader-Ganymede relation. Again, the Aliena-Saladyne story (shepherdess loved by hero disguised as a forester) corresponds to the Pamela-Musidorus story. Finally, Phoebe loves Ganymede, who is really a woman, corresponding to the love of Basilus for Zelmane, really a man. Thus Lodge has situations strikingly similar to those of *Arcadia*, with the sex-mystifications precisely reversed. The usual statement, therefore, that except for those portions which he drew from *Gamelyn* Lodge's story is original, ought to be considerably modified.

¹⁵ Introduction to the Eversley edition of *As You Like It*.

¹⁶ Cited by Rolfe, in his edition of the play, p. 252.

was introduced by Shakespeare in imitation of Sidney and Spenser. These points are as follows: 1. The stock character of the extra shepherd, not immediately connected with the main plot, a man who is not a real shepherd but is living among them because of melancholy due to a past love experience, derives ultimately from *Ameto*, *Arcadia* (Sannazaro), and *Diana*. 2. By Sidney this element was grafted on a plot of the *Daphnis and Chloe* type. 3. In English pastoral romances such a character is found in *Arcadia*, *Faerie Queene VI*, and *As You Like It*, but not in the romances of Greene or Lodge. 4. The source of the Calidore-Pastorella plot is not Tasso or Greene but Sidney's *Arcadia*. Colin, introducing the author, is similar to Philisides. 5. The pastoral plots of *Arcadia* and of *As You Like It* are very similar in their main outlines. By the introduction of William and Audrey, as well as of Jaques, Shakespeare makes his plot conform even more closely to that of Sidney, i. e., *As You Like It*, so far as the general plot is concerned, goes beyond *Rosalynde* in conformity to the typical plot of Sidney and Spenser.

We now turn to more direct proof. In the first version of *Arcadia*, Philisides occupies a more prominent place than in the version which we have.¹⁷ Under this name Sidney represents himself as sojourning for a time among the Arcadian group because of his love melancholy. He has no part in the main action, but describes himself as a man of good birth who had been educated as a gentleman; he had been a traveller to ripen his judgment, and had returned "to use the benefitt of a quyet mynde" when love came to divert the course of his tranquillity and to plunge him into melancholy.¹⁸ He takes part in the amusements arranged for the Duke,¹⁹ singing eclogues on the woes of love; he is characterized as melancholy, and his fondness for moralizing in his songs may well suggest the melancholy and moral Jaques. In the present version, Philisides appears only in connection with the "pastorals" at the end of each book; thus he is even more distinctly an extra character, having no close connection with the action, yet so characterized that it is difficult to avoid the belief that he is the original of Shakespeare's portrait.

¹⁷ For an account of his discovery, in 1907, of several MSS copies of *Arcadia* as Sidney first wrote it, see Mr. Bertram Dobell's article in *The Quarterly Review*, CCXI, pp. 76 ff. The romance was originally of much simpler construction than in the form with which we are familiar, lacking the epic history of the heroes and the captivity.

¹⁸ Cf. Jaques' account of the nature of his melancholy, "compounded of many simples," of his travels, and Rosalind's scornful remarks thereon. (IV, i).

¹⁹ In the first *Arcadia* the exile is called merely the "Duke," on which cf. *As You Like It*.

This parallel is most striking in the pastorals at the end of Book I. After a conventional singing match by Lalus and Dorus, Basilius called to a young shepherd who neither danced nor sang, but lay on the ground at the foot of a cypress tree, "in so deep a melancholy, as though his mind were banished from the place he loved to be in prison in his body." Thus summoned, Philisides sings a strange song which he says he got from Lanquet (Languet):

In the olden time, the beasts were the only inhabitants of earth, and were privileged to act in all ways without let or hindrance. They had a commonwealth, "for nothing can endure where order n' is"; in this commonwealth

The beasts with courage clad

Like Senators a harmless empire had.

Despite the mildness of this government they desired a change, so all the other beasts prayed Jove for a king. After telling them that this would lead to trouble, Jove granted their request; so man was created. Each beast brought some gift to the new king, and all of them voluntarily relinquished the power of speech. Soon man turned the commonwealth into a tyranny; the more powerful beasts, imitating the bad example, preyed on their lesser brethren and finally were driven into waste places, enemies of man and beast alike. The weaker animals became beasts of burden, were deprived of their fur or feathers, were killed for food, and at length were even killed for sport:

At length for glutton taste he did them kill:

At last for sport their sillie lives did spill.

Then the "moral" is phrased:

But yet o man, rage not beyond thy neede;

Deeme it no gloire to swell in tyrannie.

Thou art of blood; joy not to see things bleed:

Thou fearest death; thinke they are loth to die.

A plaint of guiltlesse hurt doth pierce the skie.

And you poore beastes, in patience bide your hell,

Or know your strengths, and then you shall do well.

With this passage compare *As You Like It*, II. i. Amiens and "First Lord" came upon Jaques "as he lay along under an oak"; near by a poor sequestered stag, the prey of hunters,

Much marked of the melancholy Jaques,
Stood on the extremest verge of the swift brook,
Augmenting it with tears.

The Duke inquires,

What said Jaques?

Did he not moralize this spectacle?

To which "First Lord" replies,

O, yes, into a thousand similes.

First, for his weeping into the needless stream:

"Poor deer," quoth he, "thou mak'st a testament

As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more
 To that which had too much." Then, being there alone,
 Left and abandoned of his velvet friends:
 " 'Tis right," quoth he; "thus misery doth part
 The flux of company." Anon a careless herd,
 Full of the pasture, jumps along by him,
 And never stays to greet him. "Ay," quoth Jaques,
 "Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens,
 'Tis just the fashion; wherefore do you look
 Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?"
 Thus most invectively he pierceth through
 The body of the country, city, court,
 Yea, and of this our life, swearing that we
 Are mere usurpers, tyrants, and what's worse,
 To fright the animals and to kill them up
 In their assign'd and native dwelling-place.

So they left him, "weeping and commenting upon the sobbing deer."

That Shakespeare had Sidney's Philisides in mind in his characterization of Jaques is, I think, clear for the following reasons:

1. The two characters are introduced under similar circumstances: Philisides is lying under a cypress tree when called upon; Jaques under an oak. Moreover, Philisides is called, wherever he appears, "the melancholy shepherd," while the regular name for Shakespeare's character, throughout the drama, is "the melancholy Jaques."

2. The two passages are very like in content. Both refer to a beasts' commonwealth in which man is a usurper. Sidney stresses this more than Shakespeare, since he treats of the origin of the tyranny of man over beasts, but it is absolutely plain in Shakespeare. In addition to such references as those in the speech of Jaques, compare the Duke's words immediately preceding:

Come, shall we go and kill us venison?
 And yet it irks me the poor dappled fools,
 Being native burghers of this desert city,
 Should in their own confines with forked heads
 Have their round haunches gored."

Even more convincing is the similarity of the two passages in their stressing of the wrong done through killing animals for sport or even for food. Critics have maintained that Shakespeare represents Jaques as sentimental, and there is undoubtedly sentimentality in the description of the stag, and, a moment later, in Jaques himself "weeping and commenting upon the sobbing deer." Yet the Duke expresses the same sympathy, though less eloquently than it is expressed in Sidney's splendid line,

A plaint of guiltlesse hurt doth pierce the skie.

3. There are additional reasons for the conclusion that Shakespeare is imitating Sidney. For one thing, the song of Philisides is not the conventional song of a shepherd. Those who hear it express surprise at the strangeness of the tale, "scanning what he should mean by it." Like Jaques, he becomes the subject of ridicule. One of the company attacks him as a kill-joy, bringing in "a tale of he knew not what beastes at such a sport-meeting, when rather some song of love, or matter for joyfull melody was to be brought forth." The next sentence in Geron's criticism may well have furnished Shakespeare with a hint for delineating, in the entire portrait of Jaques, a man of superficial knowledge which he mistakes for wisdom: "This is the right conceipt of young men, who thinke, then they speake wiseliest, when they cannot understand themselves."²⁰ But, Sidney says, the "melancholy shepherd" paid no heed to praise or blame, but returned "to the traine of his desolate pensiveness." In other words, he could suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs. Moreover, the very fact that the song of Philisides is not of the type expected from shepherds renders him more like Jaques. He is called a shepherd, but he is not really living the life of a shepherd as Musidorus or Calidore lived it; he has had an unfortunate love affair; he is, however, a moralizer or philosopher rather than a Daphnis. So also Jaques, who has had experience with women, has travelled, and has acquired a brand of melancholy as individual as that of Philisides. Again, the song of Philisides might, in perfect keeping with the character, have been sung by Jaques himself. And finally, there is no character similar to Jaques in Lodge's *Rosalynde*; Shakespeare adds to that plot the rustics and the supernumerary but highly individualized courtier who is living for a time among shepherds; for his model he takes the melancholy Philisides.

Though this identification of Jaques and Philisides has not, to my knowledge, been made heretofore, other illustrations of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the works of Sidney have been pointed out. The most famous of these parallels is, of course, the story of the Paphlagonian unkind king, which supplied the Gloucester plot in *Lear*.²¹ Less important is the possible relationship between Holofernes and Rombus, the absurd pedant in Sidney's masque, *The Lady of May*. Again, the duel between Viola (Cesario) and Sir Andrew Aguecheek has been referred, probably with correctness, to the combat between

²⁰ Cambridge edition of *Arcadia*, p. 137. The Song begins at p. 132.

²¹ *Arcadia* II, ch. x.

Dametas and Clinias in *Arcadia*.²² The parallel is very close: the cowardly Dametas, incited by "a young gentleman" to write a taunting letter to Clinias, reminds one in the letter and in the fight that ensues of Shakespeare's Andrew. The facts that the story of the Paphlagonian king is one of those episodes that editors and literary historians tell us make Sidney dry reading, and that the duel between Clinias and Dametas comes pretty late in the romance, prove that Shakespeare read Sidney more attentively than some modern critics have done. The most significant of these parallels, for our present purpose, however, is one that has attracted very little attention. The song of Geron, which immediately follows that of Philisides, parallels the first seventeen sonnets of Shakespeare so closely as to render it practically certain that Shakespeare had it in mind.²³ In this song a shepherd urges a youth to marry in order to beget children and so gain an earthly immortality. The situation is precisely similar to that of the sonnets, and the correspondences in thought and expression are very close.²⁴ The importance of this parallel to our present study consists in the evidence given that Shakespeare studied attentively that part of *Arcadia* in which the Philisides-Jaques relation is most clearly seen. Taken in conjunction with the very considerable list of parallels between *Arcadia* and various works by Shakespeare it gives important circumstantial evidence in favor of the contention that, knowing all of the *Arcadia* as he did, Shakespeare could not have failed to be impressed by the figure of Philisides, and by the excellent and unusual humanitarianism of his song against the wanton slaughter of the rightful citizens of the forest.

Whether Jaques represents not merely Philisides but also the original of Philisides is a tempting though somewhat dangerous speculation. That he knew the significance of the name admits no doubt, and as we have already seen, Sidney's portrait of himself in the first form of *Arcadia* was drawn on somewhat fuller lines than in the version printed in 1590. Furthermore, through the last decade of the sixteenth century Sidney's literary and personal influence was at its zenith. Both his sonnets and his romance were widely known and con-

²² III, ch. 13.

²³ This parallel was pointed out by Fritz Krauss, "Die schwarze Schöne der Shakespeare Sonette," in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XVI, 144 ff. Krauss wrongly refers the song to the third book; it occurs in the pastorals at the end of book I (Cambridge ed. pp. 137 ff.) Lee does not mention it, though he does mention, without giving credit to Massey, the argument of Cecropia addressed to Philoclea in *Arcadia* III as a possible source of sonnets i-xvii.

²⁴ Cook (ed. *Sonnets* pp. 81 and 84) notes that Languet wrote a letter urging Sidney to marry, but he is apparently unacquainted with this poem. Since in the song previously discussed Philisides said that Languet taught it to him, very probably the song of Geron refers to this letter.

stantly cited. His tragic death was still fresh in the memories of men, and the magic spell of his personality was increased rather than diminished in its power. Again, Sidney was altogether the most conspicuous exemplar of those elements in polite literature that in *As You Like It* Shakespeare was subjecting to the test of silvery laughter. Both sonnet and pastoral are the quarry for the shafts of his wit. It is true that *Rosalynde* afforded plenty of texts, for besides the artificial pastoral in Lodge's romance it is saturated, in prose and verse, with Petrarchism. The contrast between love as a genuine passion and "love" as gallantry and affectation is brought out constantly in such plays as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It*. Lovers' melancholy, lovers' poetry, lovers' eccentricities, are transfixed in the Rosaline story, in the wooing of Orlando, and in the humorsome love of Orsino. Moreover, Sidney was by nature a man much like Jaques: philosophical, moralizing, grave, with something of sentimentality. Languet reproved him for his gravity; Fulke Greville says that though he had known him from childhood, Philip was never a boy. Jaques says that he would cleanse through and through the foul body of the infected world; according to his friend and biographer, this was precisely the aim of Sidney. Whether intentional or not, therefore, the portrait of Jaques is just what Shakespeare might have drawn had he deliberately set out to satirize, in entire good nature, such a man as Sidney. It is true that Shakespeare did not make a practice of representing among his *dramatis personae* leading men of his time, as Lyly, Spenser, Sidney, and other Elizabethans constantly did, but I have long suspected that the portrait of Polonius may have been colored somewhat by popular conceptions of Burghley: the maxims, the excessive caution, the fussy diplomacy of Polonius are Burghley to the life. If Burghley, why not Sidney, particularly since, as I have said, Sidney was the very embodiment of the artificial pastoralism, the Petrarchism, and the fashionable melancholy that Shakespeare was at this time satirizing in play after play. That the portrait of Jaques was based on that of Philisides I have no doubt; that Jaques also stands for the original of Philisides, Philip Sidney himself, I suggest with hesitancy, and yet with something more than a suspicion that it is correct.

III. IMOGEN AND PERDITA

In two of the so-called dramatic romances, *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare introduces pastoral episodes of great interest.

These plays belong to his latest period, dating 1609-1611; they illustrate a return to a pastoralism quite different from that which appears in *As You Like It*; and they present interesting problems in source-study. The source of one of these episodes, the Perdita-Florizel story, has long been recognized, but Shakespeare's changes are such as to alter materially the story as told in *Pandosto*. As to the cave episode in *Cymbeline*, but one suggestion of source, so far as I know, has been made, and this identification has been disputed.²⁵ The pastoral nature of this episode has been almost completely overlooked.²⁶

The plot of *Cymbeline*, it will be remembered, is composite, being made up of certain chronicle material taken from Holinshed and the story of a wager about a lady's chastity which comes from Boccaccio. But besides these two main stories there is the account of the life of the young princes in the wilderness and the story of the adventures of Imogen after she is set free by Pisanio, these two episodes being united by the fact that Imogen spends some time with her brothers, though they do not recognize each other. That this portion of Imogen's story does not come from Boccaccio is clear, for in the novel the accused wife escapes to the haven, where she boards a ship which carries her to Alexandria; her later adventures are wholly unlike those found in Shakespeare. Again, the episode is not found in any of the numerous stories in which a woman falsely accused of unchastity suffers various trials before she is vindicated.²⁷ The only story thus far cited which is apparently similar to this episode is the fairy tale of Snow-white. The most interesting parallels are as follows: there is an evil stepmother who hates Snow-white and tries to poison her; the girl escapes to a cave or hut which belongs to some dwarfs, and is refreshed by food that she finds there; when the dwarfs return, they think she is an angel or a goddess, but tell her she may remain if she will cook for them; for some time she keeps house for the dwarfs, but one day falls into a trance through the enmity of the stepmother, who finds it possible to reach Snow-white though the dwarfs had warned her of her danger; the dwarfs, thinking her dead, cry for three days, and then carry her in

²⁵ The possible connection between the Imogen story and the fairy-tale of *Sneewitchen* was pointed out by Schenkl in *Germania*, Wien, 1864. An elaborate refutation of this view, by Leonhardt, is in *Anglia*, volume VI, 1883. Editors are divided as to the correctness of Schenkl's view; those who do not adopt it usually say that the cave episode is original with Shakespeare, and is intended to unite the story of the chastity test with the chronicle history material.

²⁶ Furness, in his summary of critical material on the sources, does not cite any references to *Cymbeline* as containing pastoral elements, and Greg does not even mention the play. Probably this neglect is due to the fact that shepherds and sheep are not among the *dramatis personae*.

²⁷ For a study of this cycle and its relations to *Cymbeline*, see an article by the present writer on "The Vows of Baldwin," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, volume XXI (1906).

a crystal coffin to a mountain; birds sing laments; at length a king's son revives the maiden from her trance. Schenkl's identification of this fairy tale with the Imogen story is accepted by many editors. Gollancz finds it particularly convincing in the fact that Snow-white and Imogen are not buried, in the laments by the birds, and in the stress laid by both stories on the surpassing beauty of the heroine, so that she seems a divine creature. "Imogen," he says, "is in very deed Snow-white, the best beloved of childhood's heroines, transfigured as manhood's ideal of all womanly perfection."²⁸ Furness, too, finds convincing the parallel between "the scenes where Imogen lives in a cave with that noble pair of brothers and that portion of the fairy-story where Sneewitchen finds refuge and protection in the house of the dwarfs."²⁹ Leonhardt, on the other hand, thinks it improbable that the fairy-story, which he believes originated in Hesse, was known in England in Shakespeare's time, and holds that this part of the story is Shakespeare's own invention as a means of linking the wager story with the chronicle of Cymbeline's wars with Rome.³⁰

Aside from the doubt as to whether the tale of Snow-white was known in Shakespeare's England, there are serious reasons against the assumption that it was the source of the Imogen episode. The cruel stepmother, as Gollancz admits, is so frequently found in romance that the mere fact of her appearance is not enough to identify a plot. Furthermore, as Leonhardt points out, the Queen does not plot the death, or even the trance, of Imogen; her one desire is to get rid of Pisanio in order to break up the communication between Imogen and the banished Posthumus. Again, the two young princes and Belarius most certainly do not give the impression of being dwarfs either in stature or by nature. Imogen bears testimony to the impression they made on her; they were to her more admirable than any of the great

²⁸ Introduction to the "Temple Edition" of the play.

²⁹ Variorum edition, 1913, p. 477. So also Herford (Introduction to Eversley edition of the play). I am quite unable to agree with Professor Herford in the view that "the queen and her children transport us into manifest faerie." One has only to read *Midsummer Night's Dream* to feel the difference. Sir Sidney Lee (*Life of William Shakespeare*, ed. 1916, p. 421, says of Imogen's life in the wilderness merely that after using Boccaccio, "Shakespeare reconstructs the subsequent adventures" leading up to the reconciliation and that the Belarius story seems to be of Shakespeare's invention.

³⁰ *Anglia*, VI. (1883), pp. 36 ff. Other objections advanced by Leonhardt are as follows: In *Cymbeline* the Queen does not really hate Imogen; she merely wishes to bring about a marriage between her and Cloten, while in the fairy-tale she is jealous of her beauty; she wishes to poison not Imogen but Pisanio. Again, the brothers in exile are necessary to Shakespeare's plan, and it is natural that Imogen should be sent to them; in Snow-white the dwarfs are not brothers; so also the failure to bury Imogen is due to the exigencies of the plot. As to the covering with leaves, etc., such incidents are common-places, as in the song about the children in the wood, known in the XVIIth century.

ones of the court.³¹ But the chief difficulty in the acceptance of this hypothesis is that it is not borne out by the events of Shakespeare's play. The outstanding features of the Imogen story (apart from the wager motif) are unquestionably the heroine's life in the wilderness while disguised as a boy, the trance, the poetic and masque-like burial, the horror of the awakening when she finds the dead body of Cloten beside her and mistakes it for that of her husband, and the coming of the Romans by whom she is taken captive. To this series should be added the preliminary account of the life of Belarius and the two young princes. The very recital of the elements in this part of the story indicates that Snow-white could not have been the source. The crystal coffin, the mountain burial, the guarding of the coffin by the dwarfs, the coming of the prince to awaken and claim the maiden, belong to a very different plot. Even granting that Shakespeare might have taken liberties with his source in this case as elsewhere, the divergencies are too great to render this defence of the theory convincing.

I now submit a different explanation of the sources and the construction of this part of *Cymbeline*. Close examination of Imogen's story (the wager story being excluded) reveals that it is made up of two sets of incidents. In the first, we have a story of the attempt of the parents of a girl of high position and great beauty to force upon her an unwelcome marriage. To do this, they are obliged to dispose of a lover who is the object of their hatred as well as a hindrance to their plans; he is banished, and the pressure upon the heroine to marry the distasteful lover is redoubled. She escapes from the court (at this point the main plot is interrupted by that part of the wager story which tells how Imogen escapes death through the compassion of Pisanio and by the account of her adventures in the wilderness); and after some time drinks a potion which apparently causes her death. After the funeral ceremonies, with the exquisite dirge, the dead body of the unwelcome lover is placed beside her; later she awakens from the trance, discovers the corpse, supposes it to be that of her husband, and after a passage showing how the horror little by little penetrates her brain, falls as if dead across the mutilated body. Merely the recital of this story makes clear the source. It is not a fairy tale of a cruel stepmother, of life among dwarfs, of a trance and a fairy burial,

³¹ Cf., for example, her words, "Great men . . . could not out-peer these twain" (III. vii). It is also worth while to note, in passing, that Imogen is disguised as a boy, and is relatively upon the same plane as Belarius and the princes; in the fairytale Snow-white is a mortal maiden living for a time with the denizens of faerie.

all leading to the coming of the true prince to marry the princess, but it is Juliet's story told again. Cymbeline and his Queen are the Capulets, Posthumus is Romeo, Cloten is the County Paris. The trance and the burial, the waking to find, not the corpses of suitor and husband, but that of the suitor mistaken for the husband, yet warm and bleeding, the awful horror as the true situation beats itself into her brain, and the apparent death—these incidents prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Shakespeare was making use once more of the tragedy of Juliet of the Capulets. What is more, he improves on his own earlier work. For the horror of the tomb scene in *Romeo and Juliet* depends chiefly on the charnel house in which it takes place and on the murder that is done before our eyes; this scene takes place amid the quiet beauty of the mountain forest; Imogen shakes the flowers from her face as she returns to consciousness, and flowers cover the ugly corpse of the murdered Cloten. Yet Juliet's awakening in the charnel house, the few words she speaks before she decides on her course, the entreaties of the friar and his cowardly desertion, her almost immediate suicide, become mere melodrama in comparison with that wonderful speech by Imogen beginning with her happy recollection of Milford Haven where she was to meet her lord and the pathetic weariness of her sinking back to sleep, developing through the semi-consciousness of her imagining that her life as a cave-keeper was unreal and that the body beside her was part of the same evil dream, and rising step by step to the shivering horror of the closing lines. Here Shakespeare needs no melodramatic accessories; it is a later and a better version of what he had undertaken, near the beginning of his dramatic career, in Juliet's tragedy.

By means of this apparent digression I have been enabled to isolate a certain set of incidents involved in the Imogen story in such a way as to simplify the analysis of the pastoral elements to which I now turn. We have seen that in addition to the wager story taken from Boccaccio Shakespeare uses the main outline of the plot of *Romeo and Juliet*. By this means he not only gains complexity of plot but brings the wager story into direct connection with Cymbeline and his Queen; because of this same connection he also abandons the conclusion of Boccaccio's story.³² We have now to consider another set of incidents, further

³² Such combinations of stories drawn from various sources are, as is well known, thoroughly consistent with Shakespeare's practice and do not violate unity as the Elizabethans understood that term. My interpretation of *Cymbeline*, if it be correct, makes that drama somewhat more complex than has been supposed heretofore, but it is not more complex than *The Merchant of Venice* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

complicating the plot, which also form a consistent and unified whole. This story is as follows (the numbers refer to incidents in the typical plot analyzed in section I above):

1. A courtier banished by the king steals for revenge the two baby princes. These lads he brings up as his own children; all three live in the wilderness, being hunters. Twenty years after his banishment the boys are restless and desire to go to the court to seek adventures; he dissuades them by praising the advantages of their present life over the wickedness and corruption of the city. At this time a beautiful youth comes to them, weary and in need of food. This youth is really a princess in disguise. She remains with them, assisting with the cooking and other housework.
2. The lover of the princess living in this forest seclusion is absent, therefore the pastoral love idyl does not figure in the story. But because of a misunderstanding with her lover, the heroine is oppressed by love-melancholy.
3. An unworthy suitor finds out where the heroine is and plans to attack her and force her to yield to him. But his attempt is foiled by the youths, really her brothers, instead of by her lover.
4. The potion scene, the trance, and the burial take the place of the usual pastoral incidents.
5. A Roman captain and his soldiers take the heroine into captivity; they are kind to her, and help her to return to her home.
6. At length she is restored to her lover and all are happy.

In general, this story conforms with sufficient accuracy to the typical plot to make clear that it was influenced by pastoral romance and perhaps drawn from some definite pastoral. The exiled Belarius reminds one of the banished Duke in *As You Like It*; the young princes brought up as woodsmen, thinking Belarius to be their father and ignorant of his rank, are true pastoral characters; the praise of the purity and sincerity of country life is closely similar to the speech of Melibee in *Faerie Queene* VI, and is an expansion of the thought expressed by the Duke in *As You Like It*. That Belarius and his two sons are not watchers of sheep with poetry and love as their avocation need not trouble us; there is in this episode, closely linked as it is to the tragic story of Imogen, no place for artificiality and shepherd gallantry. Furthermore, it is thoroughly characteristic of Shakespeare, even from the days of *As You Like It*, to stress the more active physical life of foresters and hunters rather than the elegant trifling of the artificial pastoral. It is a more robust pastoral, but it is pastoral none the less. But the greatest interest attaches to the rôle of Imogen. Disguised as a youth, weary and starving, she enters this haven of security and peace, and makes her home with these "honest creatures" whom she wishes were her brothers. She is regarded by them as some creature

of a superior world; at first they think her a fairy or an angel; at least she is

"An earthly paragon! Behold divineness
No elder than a boy!"

She cooks for them:

"Pray, be not sick,
For you must be our huswife,"

and wins their praise:

"But his neat cookery! he cut our roots
In characters,
And sauce'd our broths as Juno had been sick
And he her dieter."

But she is oppressed by grief for her absent lover. "I do note," says Guiderius,

"That grief and patience, rooted in him both,
Mingle their spurs together."

Through her grief she becomes ill; she drinks the potion, and after a period of unconsciousness, falls captive to the Romans. From this story we may take out the trance and burial scenes, since, as already noted, these belong to the strand of the plot which derives from *Romeo and Juliet*. What is left is so distinct as to indicate a definite source. That source, I think, is Tasso's story of Erminia's sojourn among the shepherds.³³

The circumstances in which the two heroines are placed correspond almost exactly. Both are separated from their lovers, and are forced to flee because of mortal danger; both are disguised as men, Erminia in shining armor, Imogen less certainly as a soldier, though she has a sword.³⁴ Again, both are half-dead from fear: Imogen is afraid at first to call out, but at length does so, and adds,

"Best draw my sword; and if mine enemy
But fear the sword like me, he'll scarcely look on't."

³³ I use Fairfax for the passages from Tasso, since this was probably the form in which Shakespeare read the story. The Erminia passages occur in books VII and XIX. The Imogen passages referred to are act III, scenes iii, iv, vi, and act IV, scene ii.

³⁴ Compare Imogen's words (III. iv):

"This attempt
I am soldier to, and will abide it with
A prince's courage."

Furness interprets this as referring to "the courage of a Prince, the greatest of soldiers" (Variorum ed., p. 245). But how little of a soldier she was appears in her timidity later.

So when Erminia rides through the thick forests,

Her feeble hand the bridle reins forlore,
Half in a swoon she was, for fear I ween.

Both are also half-dead from hunger and exhaustion: Imogen for two nights has made the ground her bed; she would be sick, she says, if not helped by resolution, and she is "at point to sink for food" when the thought of her miseries makes her forget weariness and hunger. Erminia rode all the first night and the day following; the second night she slept like Imogen on the ground; in both cases the heroine is exposed to the dangers of the wilderness, without food, for two nights. Just as Imogen forgot her hunger in the greater pain of heart and soul, so of Erminia we are told,

She heard and saw her griefs, but naught beside . . .
Her tears, her drink; her food, her sorrowings;
This was her diet that unhappy night.

Imogen comes upon Belarius and two youths reputed to be his sons; Erminia upon a shepherd and his three sons; in neither case is there any mention of other inhabitants of the region except that the wife of Tasso's shepherd is living while Euriphile, wife of Belarius, is dead and her grave is carefully tended by the boys. This impression of a wilderness inhabited by only a few men is unique in stories of this kind. Furthermore, the entrance of the heroine produces in each case a very similar effect: to Belarius and his sons she is more than mortal; so Erminia's appearance in shining armor sorely dismays the shepherds. Thus the two stories agree not only in the important incident that a girl disguised as a soldier and fleeing for her life makes her abode among rustics, but also in the very details. This correspondence in both incident and detail extends even farther. The praise of country life: its simplicity, its health, its freedom from the dangers and the vices of life in the world, its indifference to wealth, which Tasso's shepherd so eloquently expounds to Erminia, is for the most part used by Shakespeare in the instructions given to the youths by Belarius; but Erminia's mention of gold and jewels which she could give to the shepherd if such "thou diddest hold in prize," recurs in Imogen's proffer of money for her board and the instant refusal by Guiderius and Arviragus,

"All gold and silver rather turn to dirt!
As 'tis no better reckoned but of those
Who worship dirty gods."

The stress placed upon this theme by both Shakespeare and Tasso reminds one of the passage in the *Faerie Queene* already referred to; dispraise of court is a commonplace in Elizabethan literature, but these three passages are notable for intensity and sincerity.³⁵ Both Tasso's shepherd and Shakespeare's Belarius, it will be remembered, have lived at court, and make this experience the basis for the instruction of youth. Again, Imogen wins the praise of her friends because of her skill in household matters; so Erminia, besides her share of the field work, makes cheese and butter to the delight of the shepherds. The beauty of the two heroines is described in almost identical language: "By Jupiter, an angel!" says Belarius, and, later, Arviragus exclaims, "How angel-like he sings!" So of Erminia we are told that

Not those rude garments could obscure and hide
The heavenly beauty of her angel's face.

Again, after observing the manner in which Imogen performs the various homely tasks, Belarius bears witness that

"This youth, howe'er distressed, appears he hath had
Good ancestors."

And of Erminia we read that her gestures and her looks were not those of a shepherd,

Nor was her princely offspring damnified
Or aught disparaged by those labors base.

The two stories agree in that the pastoral love idyl is lacking, but also in that both heroines are melancholy because of separation from their lovers and misunderstandings that have arisen: it is not merely separation, but separation and misunderstanding. Erminia writes poems and hangs them, Orlando-like, upon trees; Imogen grieves herself into sickness, drinks the potion, and apparently dies. Erminia, unable to endure her love-melancholy, runs away, is captured by Egyptians and given as a present to their captain, who treats her kindly and helps her to return to her friends. So also Imogen is taken by Lucius, the Roman captain, is treated kindly, and after the battle is restored to her husband.

³⁵ But Spenser's lines, as we have already seen, are unquestionably from Tasso. The parallel extends even farther. When Calidore offers gold to pay for his board, the old shepherd replies, in almost the same words as those used by Arviragus:

"Your bounteous proffer
Be farre fro me, to whom ye ill display
That mucky masse, the cause of men's decay."
(*F. Q.* VI. ix. 33.)

Thus it is clear that Shakespeare and Spenser draw from Tasso as a common source.

If this exposition of the Imogen plot be accepted, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The usual ascription, to the fairytale of Sneewitchen, of that part of the plot which is an addition to the wager story is an error. The reasons for rejecting this story as a source are quite independent of the question as to whether the tale was or was not known to Shakespeare; the two stories do not correspond in total effect either in plot or in spirit, the incidents which are apparently similar find much closer parallels in the Erminia story, and despite the absence of references to shepherds Shakespeare's story is a pastoral and not a fairytale.

2. The Imogen story is composed of three elements. Shakespeare's first interest was no doubt in the wager story, drawn from Boccaccio. With true Shakespearean daring he wished to connect this plot with the chronicle of Cymbeline's wars with the Romans. To bring this about he set the wager story in a frame based on the tragedy of star-crossed lovers long before used in *Romeo and Juliet*. The third strand, a pastoral episode, comes from Tasso, as is proved not only by the correspondence in incident but also by many details of thought and expression.

3. This pastoral episode not only assists in giving the utmost complexity to the entire plot, thus carefully and deliberately preparing for what is in many respects the most remarkable dénouement in the entire list of Shakespeare's plays, and not only aids in binding the wager story and the *Romeo and Juliet* rifacimento to the historical material, but also, as I shall show in section IV of this essay, is a means through which Shakespeare expresses some of his maturest and most characteristic thought about the meaning of life.

If Imogen is like Erminia, compelled because of separation from her lover and by great danger to her life to live for a time among rustics, Perdita resembles Pastorella in that ignorant of her high station she is brought up by an old shepherd as his daughter. In Perdita's story we have no problem of sources; the relation of *The Winter's Tale* to Greene's romance has long been known. But it is sometimes held by students of pastoral drama that the Florizel-Perdita episode is not a pastoral, though these same critics speak of *Pandosto* as a pastoral romance.³⁶ The fact is that Greene's story is

³⁶ Greg, for example (p. 411), speaks of the Perdita-Florizel story as only "apparent pastoral," and continues, "It is characteristic of the shepherd scenes of that play, written in the full maturity of Shakespeare's genius, that, in spite of their origin in Greene's romance of *Pandosto*, they owe nothing of their treatment to pastoral tradition." And Smith (in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1897, p. 378 n.) says that in *The Winter's Tale* "The pastoral element borrowed from Greene's

much farther removed from true pastoral than Shakespeare's; what has really happened is that Shakespeare has transformed a romance of adventure which patronizes the "homely pastimes" of shepherds, "shepherds ragges," and the garlands woven of shepherd's "homely flowers" into the most exquisite and satisfying pastoral in Elizabethan literature.

At first sight, Greene's story follows the pastoral rules in several important respects. The shepherdess who is ignorant of her true station, the high-born lover who for her sake dons pastoral attire, the praise of shepherd life—all seem to belong to the realm of *Pastorella* and of *Chloe*. But beyond a bare mention of the gathering of all the "Farmers Daughters of Sycilia" and their homely pastimes, there is no introduction of other pastoral characters; the story is almost devoid of incident except for the troubles of Dorastus about his honor and his clothes, and it concludes with an elopement planned chiefly by the ambitious shepherdess. The spirit is worldly, not pastoral. Porrus charges his wife not to tell of the gold found with the child, lest claimants appear. With the money he buys land and flocks and becomes a man of substance. Fawnia, in consequence, has many rich suitors, but she cares for none until the Prince comes. Her love for Dorastus is very real, but she suspects him, even when he appears in "shepherds ragges," of intending to betray her, and it is this suspicion that makes her say, "This attire hath not made Dorastus a shepherd, but to seeme like a shepherd." Even when she saw him coming for the first time in this guise she began to forget Dorastus and "to favor this pretty shepheard, whom she thought she might both love and obtaine." He convinces her, at last, of his sincerity, but she is also plainly impressed by his plea, in the manner of Herrick's advice to the virgins, that her beauty will pass and she had better love betimes. The plan for the elopement is mainly hers. Thus Fawnia is a Pamela of the Richardsonian type, concerned about her virtue, ambitious yet suspecting the intent of the Prince; her reputed father, a worthy predecessor of Pamela's father, is wholly different from the old shepherd in *The Winter's Tale*, for he suspects that the prince has designs upon his daughter's virtue. As to Dorastus, he is utterly unlike Calidore or Musidorus. "His honor wished him to cease from such folly, but Love forced him to follow fancy."

Pandosto is so completely subordinated that we can hardly say it exists at all. Who would ever speak of Perdita as an *Arcadian*?" Certainly, and who would ever speak of *Hamlet* as a tragedy of blood, or of the scenes at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap as chronicle history?

He procured a shepherd's coat and hid it in a grove; when he went to call on his lady he put it on, cursing his "base desires and homely attires." "Thy thoughtes," he says, "are fit for none but a shepheard, and thy apparell such as only becomes a shepheard. A strange change, from a Prince to a pesant." Thus the true spirit of the pastoral love idyl is wanting; Dorastus does not go to live among shepherds in order to woo his lady, he merely puts on a shepherd's coat when he pays his visits, changing back to his "riche apparel" when the call is over. We are not surprised that after the betrothal Fawnia's chief thought is joy to have won "the love of a Prince, hoping in time to be advaunced from the daughter of a poore farmer to be the wife of a riche King." Greene's story is interesting as an early attempt to substitute psychological analysis, the conflict of motives, for such time-worn sensational incidents as the rescue of the maiden from a lion or a band of robbers, but it reminds us less of pastoral than of some modern romances in which a poor boy goes to the city, makes a fortune, marries his daughter to a foreign nobleman, and prides himself on being a self-made man. How completely all this is changed by Shakespeare needs no illustration. The single point that I wish to make is that, far from rejecting pastoral romance as a theme unworthy of the maturity of his genius, he converted Dorastus into Florizel, and Fawnia into Perdita.

IV. A PHASE OF SHAKESPEARE'S IDEALISM

After commenting on "the vast dissertation factory that has been built on Shakespeare's bones," six hundred items being listed in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* in one year, Oliver Elton remarks: "But the next thing needed is a synthesis of this huge mass of illustration and apparatus. For the cold-storage of facts and parallels is of no use unless it helps us to perform better what for Englishmen surely is the chief critical task of our time, namely, to enter into the mind of the English Renaissance."³⁷ These words were written years before England's entrance upon a war against that theory of the state, developed to the highest degree of efficiency, which was the peculiar contribution of the Renaissance to systems of government. For just as England in Shakespeare's time represented the new nationalism in death struggle with the most formidable representative of the old conception of the state, so now she is at grips with a power which

³⁷ *Modern Studies*, p. 80.

represents the highest development of Machiavellian political theory. In the sixteenth century St. George defended the Low Countries in the agony of their death struggle with Spain; to-day Englishmen like to think that St. George again girds on his sword in defence of Belgium against a similar tyranny. Thus more than ever it may be said to be important that Englishmen should try to understand the mind of the Renaissance.

That mind, at first sight, seems to consist of a singular mixture of common-sense and sentimentality, grasp of fact and idealism, desire to know and to do set over against dreaming, objectiveness and allegory, the active versus the contemplative ideal of life. Bacon speaks in one place of the story of Cain and Abel as an allegory of the contest between active life, represented in the husbandman, and the contemplative life, represented in the shepherd, and says that the favor of heaven was vouchsafed to the pastoral ideal.³⁸ In another passage, however, he combats the idea of Greek philosophy that the contemplative life is preferable: "But men must know that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and the angels to be lookers on."³⁹ Some observers of English life in the sixteenth century think that there was a real conflict between theoretical idealism and Machiavellian practice, resulting in an ethical paradox.⁴⁰ Thus, More, Bacon, and Raleigh, men of the highest distinction, held admirable theories of conduct which did not prevent them, according to this view, from descending to the meanest of actions. Even more pronounced is the apparent conflict between Elizabethan concreteness and sense of fact and Elizabethan sentimentality as manifested in the sonnets and the pastorals. Sidney is ambitious to be an explorer, a colonizer, a statesman, a military hero, and he also represents himself as the melancholy Philisides; he addresses to the Queen a state paper showing admirable grasp of the problems confronting England in a delicate situation, and he also writes sentimentally of his hopeless love for Stella. Elizabeth distinguishes herself for her careful economy in administration and proves a worthy match for Catherine of France and Philip of Spain, both consummate politicians; she also delights in being praised as a Diana, a Venus, a Queen of Faerie, a subject for the most fulsome flattery at the Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth. England, the defender of Protestantism, loved also the money to be got from raiding Spanish ships; she believed in

³⁸ *Advancement*, I, vi, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, xx, 8.

⁴⁰ For example, Sidney Lee, in *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 14-15.

reducing the wild Irish to Christianity while profiting by the acquisition of valuable plantations for the "undertakers"; St. George slew the dragon, but was also careful to appropriate the dragon's hoard.

This apparent conflict between the ideal and the Machiavellian, between symbol and fact, between even the sentimental and the genuine, is of course reflected in Elizabethan literature. Mr. Greg finds an explanation of the vogue of the artificial pastoral in the fact that "in it the world-weary age of the later renaissance sought to escape from the materialism that bound it."⁴¹ But, however true this may be of Italy in the sixteenth century, it is emphatically not true of England. Sidney Lee complains of the paradox in the fact that "Sidney and Spenser, who preached with every appearance of conviction the fine doctrine that the poets' crown is alone worthy the poets' winning, strained their nerves until they broke in death, in pursuit of such will-o'-the-wisps as political or military fame."⁴² This statement distorts the facts, since these men met death from no such cause; it is unjust, for the glorious story of Rupert Brooke is yet fresh in our minds; and it is superficial, since Sidney and Spenser were seeking to serve the state, not as politicians or adventurers but as men of broad interests and culture, according to the precepts laid down in *Il Cortegiano*, one of the two fundamental books—Machiavelli's "Prince" being the other—for the understanding of Renaissance thought. A third method of interpretation seeks an explanation, not through escape or paradox, but through identifying the whole work of certain men with these phases of Elizabethan thought. Spenser, we say, is the dreamer, the poet of allegory, the poet's poet; Bacon is the man of science, interested in fact, with no illusions; Shakespeare is the purely objective poet, whose facts come from the psychological laboratory, not from Bacon's world of sense or from Spenser's faerie. In spite of the simplicity of this mode of classification, it is not altogether borne out by the facts, for Spenser does not inhabit a realm remote from the life that England was living, his allegory of Gloriana is based upon one aspect of the new English nationalism which none of his contemporaries phrased more completely or more accurately; while the symbol and illusion of faerie romance find a place in Bacon's quest of truth and in Shakespeare's quest of the springs of human action.

A complete study of the relation of Shakespeare to this apparent duality of Elizabethan thought would take us far beyond the limits

⁴¹ *Pastoral Poetry*, p. 51.

⁴² *Great Englishmen*, p. 15.

of the present study, but certain aspects of his use of pastoralism contribute something toward an understanding. In *As You Like It*, for example, there is a keen sense of the absurdities of the *genre*. Lodge's Rosader, who brings sonnets to read in order to show "what a poetical fury love will inspire into a man," remains much the same in Shakespeare, excepting that Orlando's sonnets are converted into a sort of verse that Touchstone says he could imitate for eight years together, dinners and suppers and sleeping-hours excepted. Rosalind is not the conventional shepherds' mistress, she has too much humor; she believes in the sincerity of Orlando's love, but she lets fly the shafts of her wit upon his imitation of the love-lorn swain. The portrait of the melancholy Jaques is edged with satire. Touchstone's affair with Audrey parallels in broad farce the "love" of the great ones, and he parodies the effects of unrequited love as set forth by Silvius. Comparison with Lodge shows how in the story of Phebe and Silvius, both representative of the eclogue type of shepherdess and shepherd, Shakespeare has heightened the impression of artificiality. Thus "love" is approached from different angles, all of them showing Shakespeare's familiarity with the rules observed by the best literary practitioners and the test of silvery laughter to which he subjects them. The seriousness of the *Shepherds Calender* is wholly wanting, likewise the unreal agonies of *Arcadia* and the Petrarchism of Lodge. Rosalind assures Orlando that her frown would not injure a fly; Touchstone approves of the shepherd's life in respect of itself, "but in respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught."

In *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale* a deeper note is struck. Charming as it is as a romance, and witty as it is in its satire of certain literary conventions, *As You Like It* is deficient in thought. The Duke's speech on the uses of adversity is a lovely rendering of a motif frequently met, but it springs from no deep and passionate conviction. The unrealities of artificial pastoral formed no medium through which Shakespeare could express his thought; he had either to satirize or to transform. The pastoral episodes of these two late plays, however, form the vehicle for a noble defence of the contemplative ideal. This defence is the climax of the exposition of a theme which runs through a number of the plays. In *Richard II* Shakespeare had echoed Marlowe's conception of the dignity of high position. Kingship is a personal privilege; the crown is the symbol of earthly glory. In *Henry V* the essential worthlessness of such an ideal of glory is shown in Henry's great speech on ceremony, which is an

expression, in magnificent verse, of the oft-repeated idea that the peasant is happier than the king—the very essence of the idea which Melibee expresses to Calidore, the old shepherd to Erminia, and that runs through the criticism of the court found in *Colin Clout*. In *Lear*, the idea recurs, but more poignantly expressed, in the old king's words to Cordelia. In prison, he says, they can find happiness:

“And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news; and we'll talk with them too,
Who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out;
And take upon's the mystery of things,
As if we were God's spies; and we'll wear out,
In a wall'd prison, packs and sets of great ones
That ebb and flow by the moon.”

Other illustrations come readily to mind, but these are sufficient to show how Shakespeare's historical plays and tragedies reflect a progression from the Renaissance idea of glory to a conviction that happiness does not depend on place or power. This conception is closely akin to the fundamental principle of pastoral idealism. It is true that at first sight these and other similar passages in Shakespeare seem merely expressions of a well-known Elizabethan convention. No motif is more commonly met, beginning with Wyatt's version of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse, than this dispraise of court and exaltation of the purity and simplicity of life in the country. But Shakespeare does not sentimentalize about country life; he would not, if living to-day, write books for tired city clerks on “Five Acres and Liberty.” The very passage in *Henry V* in which the king attacks so bitterly the emptiness of ceremony praises only the sound health and the freedom from care of the peasant, not his “vacant mind”; if the only advantage in being a king consists in “ceremony”,

“Such a wretch,
Winding up days with toil and nights with sleep,
Had the fore-hand and vantage of a king.
The slave, a member of the country's peace,
Enjoys it, but in gross brain little wots
What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace,
Whose hours the peasant best advantages.”

And in *Lear* we do not get the full power of the lines about the possibility of happiness, even in prison, unless we bear in mind that earlier Lear, autocratic, imperious, who thought that he was great because he was dressed in a little brief authority, but not learning until he

had been broken by suffering that ay and no is no good divinity and that a king is not ague-proof.

In *Cymbeline* this theme is even more prominent. Belarius praises their life in the wilderness for its security and its honesty. But Guiderius replies,

"Out of your proof you speak; we, poor unfledg'd,
Have never wing'd from view o' the nest, nor know not
What air's from home. Haply this life is best
If quiet life be best, sweeter to you
That have a sharper known."

And Arviragus,

"What should we speak of
When we are old as you? when we shall hear
The rain and wind beat dark December, how
In this our pinching cave shall we discourse
The freezing hours away? We have seen nothing."

To which Belarius:

"Did you but know the city's usuries
And felt them knowingly; the art o' the court,
As hard to leave as keep, whose top to climb
Is certain falling or so slippery that
The fear's as bad as falling; the toil o' the war,
A pain that only seems to seek out danger
I' the name of fame and honour; which dies i' the search,
And hath as oft a slanderous epitaph
As record of fair act."

Here, then, the debate between the old shepherd and the youth, familiar in English pastorals since the time of Barclay, acquires new intensity. Later, when the youths wish to get into the battle, like Percival ambitious to seek Arthur's court, Belarius tries to keep them away, but Arviragus cries,

"What pleasure, sir, find we in life, to lock it
From action and adventure?"

The true significance of these passages becomes clear if we compare with the young princes Cloten the princely fool. Cloten is unable to understand why he fails to win Imogen's love, since the clothes once worn by Posthumus fit him perfectly. When Guiderius challenges him, he says,

"Thou villain base,
Know'st me not by my clothes?"

And, a moment later,

"To thy further fear,
Nay to thy mere confusion, thou shalt know
I am son to the queen."

Here, then, is the man of noble birth, but a fool, relying upon his tailor and his name for respect; over against him are set those whom he despises as "rustic mountaineers," but in whom innate nobility has produced character independent of position or the appearance and veneer of culture. Belarius looks with delight upon these evidences that his two charges are in reality noble:

"How hard it is to hide the sparks of nature!
 These boys know little they are sons to the king,
 Nor Cymbeline dreams that they are alive.
 They think they are mine; and though train'd up thus meanly
 I' the cave wherein they bow, their thoughts do hit
 The roofs of palaces, and nature prompts them
 In simple and low things to prince it much
 Beyond the trick of others."

And after they have slain Cloten:

"These two princely boys . . . 'Tis wonder
 That an invisible instinct should frame them
 To royalty unlearn'd, honour untaught,
 Civility not seen from other, valour
 That wildly grows in them but yields a crop
 As if it had been sowed.

Cloten, brought up at court and with every advantage, is yet a fool; Guiderius and Arviragus, ignorant of their descent, their only companion an old man whose wound still poisons his faith in his fellows, are fitted for a life of action through this withdrawal from the world. Place and power are relative: Richard could not command respect, wearing his crown; Lear could not command respect lacking his crown; Cloten gains nothing from his clothes; the two mountain youths possess a royalty of nature that dignifies their rustic garb.⁴³

If, finally, we consider this material in connection with the preceding sections of this essay, the following conclusions may be drawn.

⁴³ This philosophy of clothes recurs frequently in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*. Posthumus disguises himself as a peasant, saying,

"Let me make men know .
 More valour in me than my habits show. . . .
 To shame the guise o' the world, I will begin
 The fashion, less without and more within."

In *The Winter's Tale* (IV, iv) the old shepherd and his son are impressed by the borrowed magnificence of Autolycus, and wonder if he is a courtier: "Seest thou not the air of the court," he says, "in these enfoldings? hath not my gait in it the measure of the court? receives not thy nose court-odour from me? reflect I not on thy baseness court-contempt?" And after they have been rewarded for their services, the shepherd and his son reflect on the delight of being gentlemen born. Meeting Autolycus again (V, ii), the clown says: "You denied to fight with me the other day, because I was no gentleman born. See you these clothes? say you see them not and think me still no gentleman born; you were best say these robes are not gentlemen born; give me the lie, do, and try whether I am not now a gentleman born."

In the first place, the pastoral element in Shakespeare's plays is constant and pervasive. He has little of the conventional; the artificiality seen in the eclogues and in the romances and dramas drawn therefrom has no attraction for him. Neither does he use the pastoral, as Spenser and others used it, as a medium for courtly allegory or for satire of church and state. He satirizes the conventional literary pastoral, but his sympathy for the sweetness, the purity, and the sincerity of life away from the heated atmosphere of court is shown in his *Perdita*, his *Imogen*, and in "that noble pair of brothers." He looks upon country life without the sentimentality of many modern writers; he indulges no illusions concerning it; the countryman is not made noble because he lives in the presence of natural beauty any more than the king is noble because he wears a crown. Yet one gets an impression of a value to be attached to what the Elizabethans called the contemplative life as a preparation for active life, not merely in the fact that one may find sermons in stones, but through the education which the young charges of Belarius received. Lastly, the whole idea is linked with that perception of the illusion of worldly place and honor which so informs much of his major work. In this he is one with his greatest contemporary. Back of the fact Spenser saw always the symbol. There is a certain pathos in the story of how Colin attained at last the vision of beauty for which he had searched so long, only to see it disappear at the approach of a mortal. And Shakespeare, in like case aware that the visions evoked by his imagination must fade into the light of common day, also comes to feel what is at the very basis of the lovely vision of the *Faerie Queene*,—that not only are worldly standards of success and happiness illusory, but that

"Like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind."

EDWIN GREENLAW.

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